2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

776 782 174 We have previously seen how carefully the Yakut allotted their spirits to different worlds and cardinal points. The *Abasy*, however, appear to dwell partly in the upper world and partly in the lower one. Further, to those *Abasy* (plur. *Abasylar*) who dwell only in the upper world horses are sacrificed, while to the *Abasy* of the lower world only horned cattle are offered. These spirits have their own households and cattle; but the upper *Abasy* have only horses while the lower ones have only horned cattle. While the *Ajÿsyt* (the goddess of birth) of horses appears to be a man-spirit, the *Ajÿsyt* of horned cattle is a woman spirit. This difference alone leads us to believe that we have here a compound of two conceptions of nature, the result of a consolidation of two different cultures. The man's *Ajÿsyt* is a woman to whom are addressed pleas for children, while prayers for the increase of horses and horned cattle are addressed to the earth's spirit owner. Why were only horses and not horned cattle consecrated to the supreme being, *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon*?

756 ● 326 174 We have previously seen that *udahan* is a Mongol word and that *us* (smith) is Turkic. The Yakut, when comparing the power of black shamans and smiths, regard the latter as more powerful. They make no comparisons with reference to the *udahan's* power, but say that *udahans* are more powerful than men-shamans. The Yakut preserved the names of their former white shamans, but not those of white women-shamans. From this we might infer that white shamanism was not an aboriginal institution, and that black shamanism is a transformation of female shamans after their functions were transferred to men. No tales of white smiths (smiths working with copper and silver) are extant, but accounts of black smiths (iron smiths) relate that they are more powerful than black shamans. This leads us to the belief that the concept of black smiths and women-shamans appeared as ready-made institutions among the Yakut.

776 764 We will cite another example. We have previously mentioned the upper and lower *Abasy* spirits, that the former possess horses (and also demand horses as sacrifices) and the latter, horned cattle. At burials the horse of the deceased was killed and buried with its master. Such horses had a special name, *xolynga*. At home a mare was killed in memory of the deceased. It was called *ûlâ asa*, the worker's food, and was for those who made all the preparations for the burial. Later, a cow was substituted for the mare. When the number of horses decreased, the dead horse was not buried, but eaten at home. Still later, the flesh of a cow was eaten instead of a horse.

From the above it is obvious that the pre-Christian beliefs of the Yakut require further investigation to disentangle the different layers.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

The Yakut prefer it[1] to the imported Russian iron and call it *sakha-timir* (Yakut iron) as opposed to *nucha timir* (Russian iron). The Yakut iron ore yields 10 per cent iron, the Yakut are unable to handle the process in order to obtain a desirable sort of iron or to make steel. The imported steel, however, is too expensive for the Yakut. It is very easy to distinguish between the flexible Yakut knives and the hard Russian iron ware. 325 439

The Yakut Blacksmith. The double bellows (*küört*) of the majority of East Siberian tribes is used by the Yakut blacksmiths. This type of bellows was found not only among the Turkic-Mongol tribes of central and western Asia, but also in Eastern Africa. The Yakut double bellows belongs to the type called *Schlauchblasebälge* (leather-bag-bellows) by German ethnologists. These leather-bag-bellows, in their turn, are known in two forms, one of which is represented by the Yakut double bellows which are distinguished by openings in the form of short slits in the tops of the leather bags. The tubes from the bags run to the furnace where they are united and have a single outlet. Pairs of small sticks are sewed along the edges of the slits. When these sticks are brought together with the hand the bag is hermetically sealed. The blacksmith's assistant, sitting on the floor between the leather bags, alternately raises and opens one of the bags with his fingers, simultaneously closing and lowering the other bag. In this way a continuous draft is maintained.[1] The Yakut blacksmith sits on a low seat at the furnace, his anvil (*kystyk*), tongs (*kytahas*), hammer (*ötuye*), and a file (*igi*), on the ground beside him. All these objects resemble the paraphernalia of the eighteenth century Mongolian smithy illustrated in Pallas' work.[2] The Yakut, like the Gypsy smith, has remained to a considerable degree an itinerant artisan. Usually he carries his tools and bellows to the place where the work is to be done. In Fig. 54 is illustrated a Yakut blacksmith who has established himself under the roof of a sledge shed belonging to a rich Yakut patron. 171 326 413

In many respects the technique of the smith has remained primitive. One of the disadvantages of the trade is the necessity of having an assistant for the bellows. The draft of the bellows is usually too strong for small objects which burn and too weak for large objects. Sometimes two 326 413

[1] For a discussion and detailed description of different types of bellows see the following: Andrée, R., *Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern mit Berücksichtigung Prähistorischer Verhältnisse.* Leipsig, 1884; Beck, L., *Die Geschichte des Eisens.* Berlin, 1870–1871; Foy, W., Zur Geschichte der Eisentechnik und besonders des Gebläses (*Ethnologica, Im Auftrage des Vereins zur Förderung des städtischen Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde in Köln*, vol. 1, pp. 185–222, Leipsig, 1900); von Luschan, Felix, Eisentechnik in Afrika (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 41, pp. 22–59, Berlin, 1909). Doctor Foy combats the contention of Professor Von Luschan that Africa is the place of origin of iron smelting and the blacksmith's art.

[2] Pallas, P. S., *Sammlungen der historischen Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften.* 1767. Part 1, Pl. 5.

1 [i.e, pig iron mined in Yakutsk --ANALYST]

2; Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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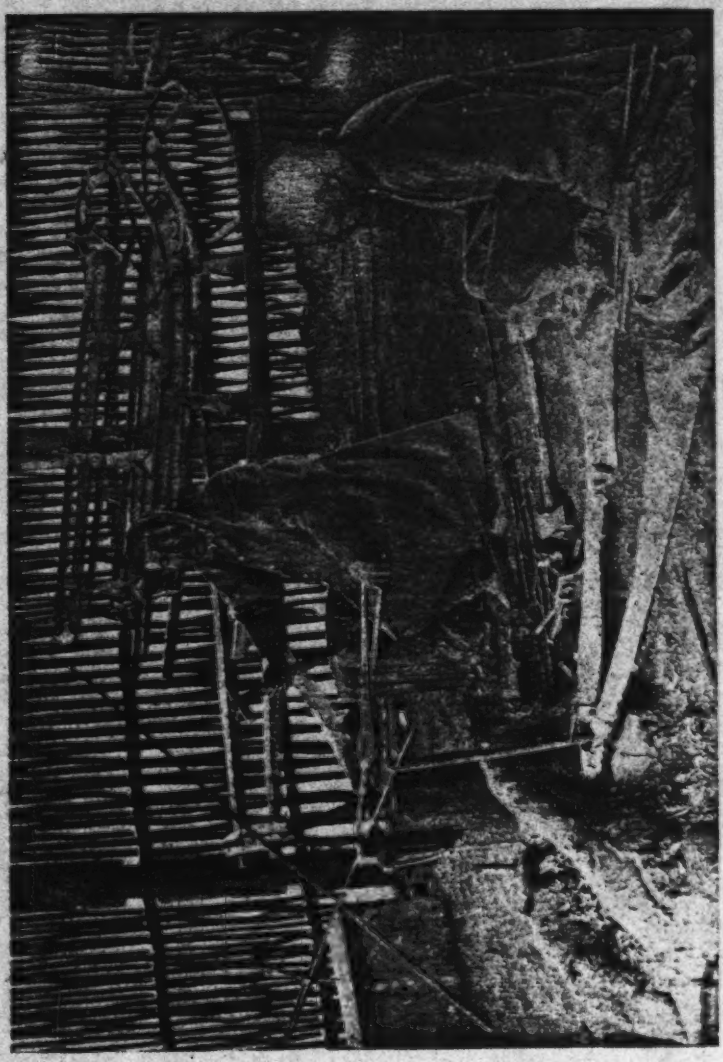

Fig. 54. A Blacksmith at Work. The itinerant Yakut blacksmith usually established himself under the roof of the sledge shed of a rich patron.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

pairs of bellows are employed. Welding is not perfectly accomplished and traces of the process are visible. Nevertheless some native blacksmiths near Yakutsk have learned from Russian artisans the art of fluxing and tempering iron. From their own steel, they make files, axes, knives, spears, and other implements sufficiently hard, but they do not know how to forge springs. Until recently they did not know how to cut screws and to drill iron. Now they use Russian screw plates and the screw is called by the Russian name *bint* (in Russian *vint*) or *nuchasuola*, Russian path. Holes are pierced instead of being drilled. They do not know how to cast iron and call it by the Russian name, *djugun* (Russian, *chugun*). Knives made of native iron may be easily distinguished by their softness and flexibility from the hard knives of Russian manufacture.

It is of interest to note that the Tungus as well as the Yukaghir blacksmiths of Yakutsk Province now use the Yakut double bellows while the Tungus of the Okhotsk District use the single bellows of the Russians. The Tungus do not know how to obtain iron from ore and they forge Russian or Yakut iron rods.

Weapons and Tools. The bifurcated iron arrow point (*cȳra*) and the bifurcated bone arrow point (*muos cȳra*) are characteristic of the Yakut. The following are the iron weapons formerly used in war and hunting though at present they are restricted to hunting.

The *bolat*, an ancient iron sword, has a blade 14 cms. long, sharpened on one edge and curved in the direction of the point. The back is straight and thick, though somewhat thinner near the point. The sides are ornamented with engravings, inlaid with copper and brass. The name *bolat*, however, seems to be the ancient Russian word, *bulat*, for sword. The *bolat* has a short iron or bone handle.

The *batas* or war lance (Fig. 55*b*) has a blade about half a yard long; its greatest width is 1.5 inches. One edge is sharpened. The *batas* has a shaft of birch wood about 1.5 meters long. At present the *batas* is used in hunting bears. Like *bolat*, *batas* does not seem to be a Turkic word. It is known among the Russianized natives in Kamchatka and on the Kolyma River. I could not learn the original Yakut word for this weapon. The Yakut call a saber, *sābyla batas*, but *sābyla* is the Russian word (*sablya*) for saber.

A short, thick knife attached to a birch handle, *batyya*, the diminutive of *batas* is used in hunting and was formerly used in war. It was hung on the arm by a leather thong and regarded as a reserve weapon.

Of other Yakut iron implements the knife (*bysax*, from *bys*, to cut; Turkic, *bychak*) may be distinguished (Fig. 56*a*, *c*). It is not large, sel-

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

713 similar to that of the Yakut. A bow is illustrated in Fig. 59 and a hand and arm protector in Fig. 60.

701 411 Yakut warriors (*sāpi, sāpi kisila*) were usually mounted horsemen (*minjār*), but there were also foot soldiers (*satŷkisila*). Their weapons (*sāp*) consisted of a light bent bow (*sā*), a quiver (*kāsāx, sādax*), and arrows (*aya*)[1].

326 614 757 789 562 *Social Position of the Yakut Blacksmith.* The Yakut blacksmith (*ūs, timir ūsa, timirjit*) has the same rank as a shaman (see p. 107). According to one tradition the forefather of the Yakut, Elliei, was the first blacksmith. Another traditional blacksmith, named Chyky, was the teacher of warriors. He forged weapons for them and gave advice. Smithing and iron mining are inherited in certain clans. Some clans are composed of miners and iron founders, while others are smiths. The Yakut believe that blacksmiths are able to cure sick people by natural means and not through the assistance of spirits, as do shamans. They are regarded as cleyer, intelligent, and experienced. A blacksmith of the ninth generation is believed to possess some supernatural power. Such an individual has no fear of evil spirits and can forge the iron pendants for a shaman's garb without danger to himself. Spirits are generally afraid of the rattling of iron and the noise produced by the smith's bellows. It is of interest to note that there are no women blacksmiths, while, on the contrary, women shamans, called *udahan*, are believed to be more powerful than men shamans.

326 [554] Among all Siberian natives the blacksmith ranks high. His vocation is not regarded as a trade which may be learned by any one but as a divine gift. He is protected by special spirits. Among many African tribes the blacksmith is represented among the officers of the court. In Shugnan and other places in Pamir, the blacksmith's art is regarded as a gift from the prophet David. He is more revered than the *mulla* (literate man who is able to read the Koran). His assistants as well as any onlookers must show respect to the master and his implements. The blacksmith must be clean spiritually and physically; he must avoid evil thoughts and deeds and must wash before beginning to work. [778] The smithy is venerated as a place of worship and when there is no special building for prayers and social gatherings, the smithy takes its place. During communal feasts the anvil is treated with sour milk.[2]

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[1] Arrows had names differing in accordance with their shape and material: thus, *kustuk*, a single pointed iron or bone arrow; *cyra*, a bifurcated arrow; *onohos*, a spear-like bone arrow; *mallar onohos*, an arrow with a rounded head of bone or wood, used for squirrel hunting that the skin may not be defaced.

[2] Sarubin, J., Légende du Sugnan sur le premier Forgeron (*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'USSR*, Series 6, Vol. 20, Part 2, pp. 1165–1170, Leningrad, 1926, in Russian).

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

The Yakut are mediocre tinsmiths. They solder with pewter though the result is coarse and bulky. The northern Yakut tin with a soldering iron. They do not make tin ware and are unskilled in riveting metals. On the other hand, most of the Yakut blacksmiths are excellent copper and silver workers.

Copper, Gold, and Silversmiths. Most Yakut blacksmiths are expert workers in copper and silver. European archaeologists regard copper and gold as the first metals employed on an appreciable scale between

Fig. 61 *ab* (70–8576), *cd* (70–9073). Child's and Woman's Silver Bracelets. Front and back views.

the Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age. The first copper objects had no tin alloy. Modern Yakut metal workers also use pure copper. From both copper and silver they mould fine, well made small objects, buckles, rings, earrings, crosses, seals, chains, pendants, and other ornaments. From copper scraps they mould and hammer large kettles, tea pots, and even church bells. Their skill in casting equals or even exceeds their smithing. They also smelt and cast gold, making rings, earrings, and bracelets. For smelting copper, silver, and gold, they use small clay forms. Silver is the most desirable metal. They do not like gold,

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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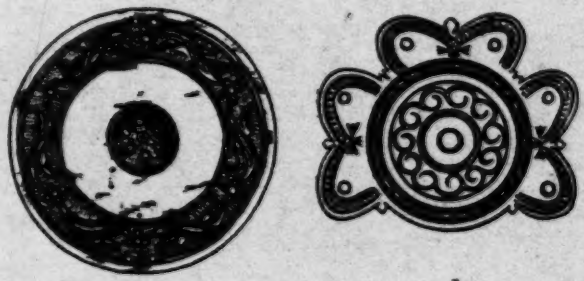
saying that it looks like copper. Silver plates for saddles are made by smelting a thick plate and hammering it thin. The quality of their silver varies. The best silver objects, the Yakut say, contain 50 per cent of silver, the rest is copper and zinc. The Yakut do not know zinc, but obtain it from imported Russian metallic ware, like latten-brass objects.

Silver Objects. A series of silver bracelets is illustrated in Fig. 61. Fig. 61*cd* is a pair of silver bracelets (*bŏhŏx*), showing the reverse and

Fig. 62 (70-8669, 8670). A Silver Cup and Saucer with engraved Symbolic Representations of Plants.



a *b*

Fig. 63*a* (70-8764), *b* (70-9139). Silver Ornaments. *a*, A decorated silver disc, part of the embellishment for a woman's cap; *b*, A silver belt buckle.

obverse, with the clasp fastened. A child's silver bracelets (*ohobŏhŏhŏ*) are engraved with symbolic representation of plants. On the large bracelets (Fig. 61*cd*) is also engraved a zigzag or finger ornament.

A silver cup and saucer, with engraved symbolic representations of plants is illustrated in Fig. 62. Under the upper rim and above the bottom of the cup are circles resembling twisted basketry fiber. The same pattern is repeated on the saucer. Both the cup (*chāsky*) and the saucer (*bŭlŭcha*) are called by distorted Russian names which are

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

actually: *chaska* and *bludéchko*, demonstrating that both vessels were adopted from the Russians. On the other hand, all the wooden goblets and other kumiss vessels have genuine Yakut-Turkic names.

Fig. 63*a* is a silver disc (*tusaxta*) used for the decoration of the front of the top of a woman's fur cap. The engraved ornamentation represents

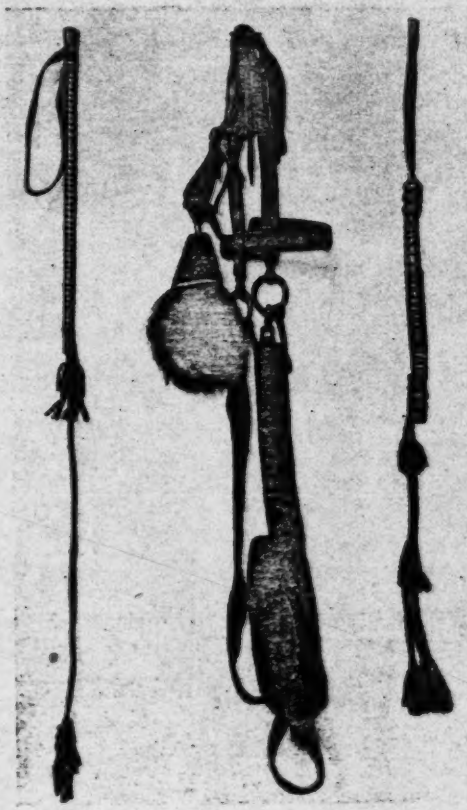


Fig. 64 *a* (70–9165), *b* (70–9139), *c* (70–8519). Riding Gear. *a*, *c*, Whips with silver ornamented handles; *b*, Silver ornamented bridle.

a symbolic plant pattern. In Fig. 63*b* is illustrated a silver belt buckle called *biräskä*, the Yakut version of the Russian word, *pryáshka*. Of interest is the central ornament consisting of connecting curves.

Two whips with handles ornamented in silver and a similarly decorated bridle are illustrated in Fig. 64*a–c*. Whips so decorated are

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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usually used by rich women riders. The bridle has reins of soft dressed elk leather and is decorated with many pendants like those in the illustration (Fig. 65).

The front of a saddle (*yñȳr*) ornamented with a silver hook and a silver plate is shown in Fig. 66. The plate of hammered silver is engraved with curvilinear figures and fastened to the wooden frame of the saddle with silver nails. Fig. 67 gives a side view of the same saddle. To the wooden base a feather cushion (*tūnā*) is attached with leather strips. On the cushion are two brass discs called *bätügür oyulōx*. Leather side skirts (*kychym*) of dressed elkskin cover the body of the horse and are ornamented with leather tassels and decorated with beads, curved silver and brass figures and discs. It is of interest to note that the stirrups (*isāñā*) are attached to the front of the saddle and that, in comparison with European or American stirrups, they are short, so that the horseman rides with knees bent. In the Yakut collection in the Museum are *kychyms* of cloth embroidered with silk and silver thread. Between the cushion and the *kychym* in Fig. 67 we see three leather saddle girths. These are of ox or elk leather or plaited of horsehair (of the mane or tail). Fig. 68 shows a detached *kychym* decorated with leather tassels, red cloth, and velvet, as well as with silver and lead. Fig. 69 represents a silver saddle hook to which the reins are tied when the horse waits for the rider.

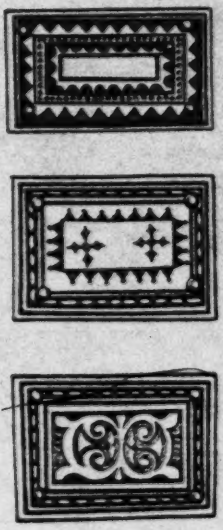

Fig. 65 (70-9139). Silver Ornaments on the Bridle illustrated in Fig. 64*b*.

A curry comb with silver rings (Fig. 70) is attached to the saddle. A mosquito beater (Fig. 71) for a horse rider is made of horsehair from the tail or mane attached to a silver ornamented handle. A completely saddled horse with all the accouterments is illustrated in Fig. 72. A saddle cover (*dōpsō*) of fur, decorated with variously formed and colored strips of the same material is illustrated in Fig. 74.

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Fig. 73 shows a rich Yakut woman in festive attire with her riding horse fully accoutered, with a cover on the saddle as well as side and hind covers. Women usually like white horses.

Fig. 75 shows a wooden pack saddle (*xañxa*) on a straw cushion (*xañxa bototo*). The straw pad for a riding saddle is called *ynȳr bototo*.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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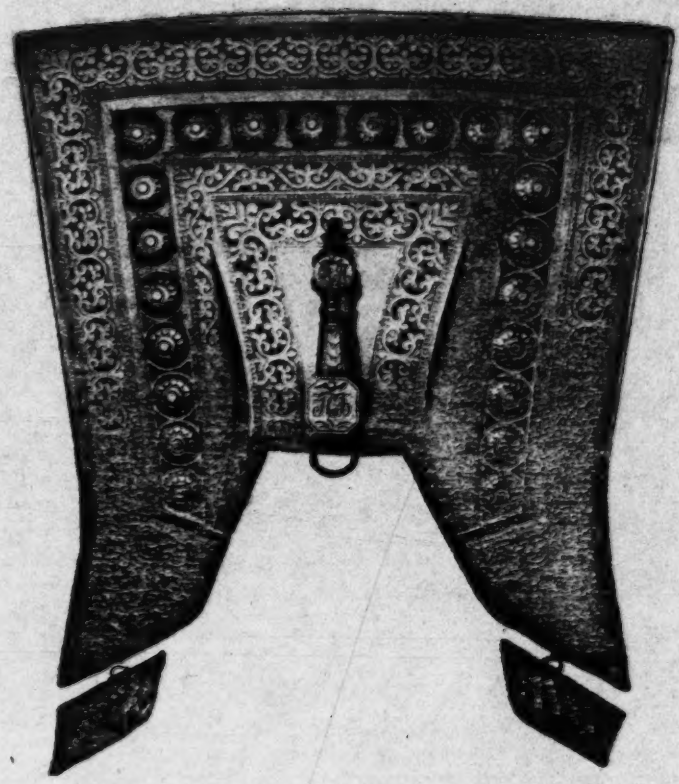

Fig. 66 (70-9136). The Front of a Saddle (See Fig. 67) ornamented with Engraved and Hammered Silver.

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Fig. 67 (70-9136). Side View of the Silver-Ornamented Saddle illustrated in Fig. 66.

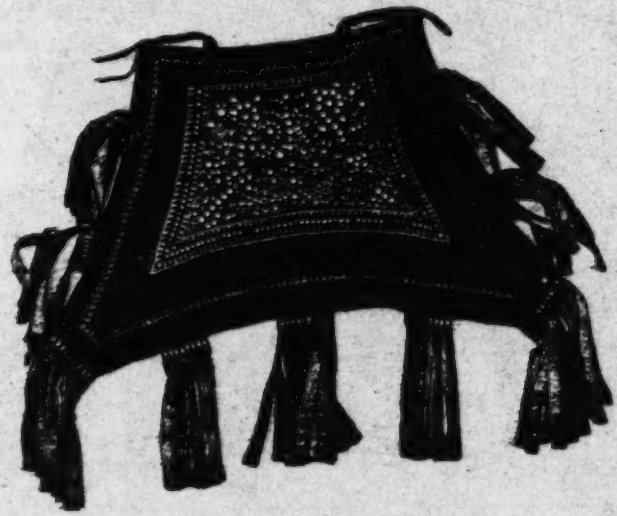


Fig. 68 (70-9138). Silver and Lead Ornamented Saddle Cloth.

6: Sauer--114-115 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 326

"With regard to their capacity of supporting themselves, they are independent. Their only necessaries are, a knife, hatchet (or palma), flint and steel, and a kettle; and with these articles the all-providing hand of God sufficiently supplies them, and capacitates them to furnish the other tribes. From the iron ore of the [115] Vilui they make their own knives, hatchets, &c. and of such temperature as baffles the more enlightened art of the Russians. This ore may be called native iron, from the little trouble they have in preparing it. Every utensil and article of dress they make themselves."

9: Stadling--93 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 276, 326

"All the Yakuts are inveterate smokers, and always wear the tobacco-pouch with pipe and flint and steel, together with the indispensable long knife, attached to the belt about their waist. They are fairly clever handicraftsmen as carpenters and above all as smiths, a craft which has old and high traditions, and is inherited. At the time of their subjugation by the Russians 300 years ago they knew how to produce iron from the ore, and their traditions show that the metal has been known to them from time immemorial. They are also clever carvers of wood and bone."

11: Lansdell--304 [3] M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 326, 439

"From the earliest times they have been able to procure and work for themselves metals*

* The iron ore of the Vilui was smelted by the Yakutes long before the advent of the Russians, and the other tribes got from them iron axes, awls, and tools for stripping and dressing hides. The Yakutes also make copper ornaments for clothes and harness, and the metal plates which they sew on their girdles. Even now, although they use European guns, they still make for themselves the great knife, or dagger, which is worn at the waist. The Yakutsk steel is more flexible than the Russian, and yet blades made of it will cut copper or pewter as easily as European blades."

15: Popov -- 257- 258 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut -1 -2
116, 326, 539, 554, 756, 774

" The blacksmith and the shaman are from the same nest,' says the Yakut proverb(2)

2. Sieroshevsky, V. L., The Yakuts. St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 631.

The blacksmith has even the greater supernatural powers. 'The first blacksmith, the first shaman, and the first potter were blood brothers. The blacksmith was the oldest, and the shaman the middle. ' Therefore the shaman being younger cannot cause the death of the blacksmith. In every attempt of the shaman 'to eat the blacksmith', the tools of the latter, his tongs, his hammer, and the anvil are transformed into winged creatures, which, flying around, strike and pinch the shaman. When the shaman wishes to thrash the soul (3) of the blacksmith, this soul hides in the kuolgan (the iron plate with seven

3. According to Yastremsky, the Yakut believe that the soul, kut, consists of three elements: buor-kut (earth-soul), iya kut (mother soul), anya kut (father soul). After death the soul undergoes transformations, and the souls of the famous shamans can be transformed seven times. According to Baishev, bour kut remains after the death with the corpse in the grave; salgin kut is transformed into a wandering spirit, yor, and sur kut after death is reincarnated. (Tr.)

or nine holes of different diameters for punching holes in [258] the metals), where the shaman cannot reach him.(1)

1. Kulakovsky, A. E., Materials for the Study of the Beliefs of the Yakuts, Yakutsk, 1923, pp. 67-68.

Moreover small models of the blacksmith's paraphernalia serve as amulets to the shaman." (2)

2. Potanin, G. N., Thunder in the Beliefs and Folklore of the Tribes of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Journal of Department of Education, January 1882, p. 159.

15: Popov -- 258 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut -1-2
116, 326, 756, 774

"According to the ideas of the Dolgans, (3) the shaman cannot swallow the soul of the

3. The Dolgans are nomadic tribes of Yakutized Tungus who wander over the territory of the river Taimir, the upper part of the Piasina and Dudipta Rivers and the Nolir Lakes. (Tr.)

blacksmith because it is preserved in fire, but the blacksmith on the contrary can easily kill the shaman. In order to do this, he must throw his kuolgan under the feet of the shaman leaving the forge, or bury it in the doorway over which the shaman will pass, pronouncing at the same time special incantations. (4) By stepping over it the shaman

4. Yakuts of Viluysk region, author's notes.

leaves his soul in the kuolgan. When the shaman leaves, the blacksmith destroys his soul by heating the kuolgan until it is red hot. A blacksmith can also kill a shaman by playing upon the belief that his spirits are afraid of the sparks from the heated iron. When a shaman leaves the forge, the blacksmith forcibly strikes the heated piece of iron and says: 'Let it pierce his back!' (5) The sparks fall upon the shaman and he soon dies.

5. Kulakovsky, op. cit. p. 68

Because of this danger the shaman cannot pass without danger between the anvil and the forge during the shamanizing.

According to V. L. Sieroshevsky, (6) in the north shamans refuse to perform the cer-

6. Sieroshevsky, V. L., Twelve Years among the Yakuts. Warsaw, 1900,

emony in a room where there are blacksmith tools. The blacksmith is regarded as having supernatural advantage over the shaman also among the Buriats. The Buriat blacksmith, when he makes the bell pendants, for the horse sticks of the shaman, insists that there should not be less than ninety, but the shaman being afraid of this fatal number tries to persuade the blacksmith to make fewer, otherwise he will soon die. (7)

7. Agatipov and Hangalov, Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia. Izvestia of Russian Geog. Society, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, p. 8."

15: Popov -- 258-259 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 774

"The forging of the shamanistic pendants is a very serious task not without danger to the blacksmith and requires special preparations. Among the Dolgans it is necessary for two men to work together. This is always done at the end of spring, outside, away from the dwellings, in a place surrounded by a special palisade. One of the blacksmiths stands upon the hide of a wolverine, the other upon a wolf-skin, the bellows man upon the skin of a white deer specially killed for this purpose as it 'governs the spirit of the fire'. If the bellows man does not have this [259] hide, his whole body will be covered with sores. The blacksmith who must make these pendants for the shamans is selected by the shaman's spirit, and cannot refuse or his luck will leave him. The shaman projects his spirit into the blacksmith while he is forging the pendants, so that it is not the blacksmith who makes them but the spirit of the shaman."

15: Popov -- 259 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326. 756, 562, 778

"The tools used in the preparation of shamanistic paraphernalia become sacred among the Dolgans [RCH: nomadic tribes of Yakutized Tungus] and before the anvil can be used again for secular pruposes it must be smeared with fat of a wild reindeer. The latter is used also before forging to insure the anvil against cracking, for if an anvil is broken during the work it is considered a bad omen for the blacksmith. In general all old blacksmith tools are revered as sacred objects. They are transported on special spotted reindeer which are called 'the reindeer of the anvil', and a woman, being unclean, cannot ride on these reindeer."

15: Popov -- 259 [2] E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 755, 841

"Dolgan [RCH: nomadic tribes of Yakutized Tungus] blacksmiths always work some distance away from the habitations, in a special tent which must not be polluted. If a menstruating woman enters or if she steps on the tools, both she and the blacksmith become covered with sores. To heal these it is necessary to smear them with the blood of a white reindeer, or rub them with the surface of an anvil, saying, 'Please cure these sores.'"

15: Popov -- 259 [3] E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 776

"Among the Yakuts blacksmiths of the ninth generation are famous, and they alone may forge the shaman's iron ornaments. Their tools acquire 'Spirit-masters', and young blacksmiths take great pains not to break their anvils, fearing the revenge of the spirits who punish such an act with death.

Each tool of the Buriat blacksmith has its own 'spirit-master'. (1) Among the Dolgans

1. Agapitov and Hangalov, p. 9.
   Sanjeev, G., Songs of the Alarsk Buriats. Zapiski of the Collegium of Orientalists III, Leningrad, 1929. The hymn to the protectors of blacksmiths, p. 544.
   Petri, B. E., Old Beliefs of the Buriats. Irkutsk, p. 48.

there are special blacksmiths possessing 'spirit-masters' who enable them to lick red hot iron with the tongue.

15: Popov -- 259-260 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-2
116, 326, 782, 776

"Blacksmiths pacify their spirits by offerings. A Yakut smith when making his clay forge throws into the fire a few bunches of white horse hair. He cannot abandon his profession or he will die, Blacksmiths must surround themselves for life with the noise of the hammers and the light of the sparks (2) in order to avoid being torn to pieces by

2. Sieroshevsky, The Yakuts, p. 632.

supernatural birds with crooked beaks and claws. (3) The author knew in the Viluysk

3. Birds with iron claws. The master of the sacred fire, mighty Nurgun, has a monstrous watchman. It is a thin black bird, with iron wings as long as two strips of birch bark, with feathers like iron swords, with a long iron beak seven fathoms long, an iron neck three fathoms long, an iron tail like a birch bark cylinder, with an iron head like an enormous tub, eyes the size of a cup, and hooked iron claws. Yastremsky, p. 26. (Tr.)

region [260] a Yakut Blacksmith , a very modest and unpretentious man, who later ceased to work in other smithies and worked only at his home. He explained this by the fact that when he arrived home at night the spirits did not give him any rest and even made him sick, demanding presents such as butter and meat, which the blacksmith had to

bring to them, and which he threw into the fire as a sacrifice. He had to beg this food from the people for whom he had worked, and he was unwilling that they should think that he was greedy, and was using the spirits as an excuse for begging. Therefore he decided to work only at home."

15: Popov --260 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 539, 556, 756

"Among the Yakut, blacksmiths as well as shamans usually are not rich. This gave rise to the following tale:

'Long ago God asked a blacksmith, a shaman and a merchant: 'What are your profits?' The shaman and the blacksmith lied and said they made hardly anything. The merchant spoke the truth. Then God said that as a punishment for lying the shaman and the blacksmith should never become rich.'"

15: Popov -- 260-261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-3
116, 326, 539, 756, 776

"Among the Yakut, blacksmiths receive their skill from the evil deity K'daai Maqsin, chief blacksmith in the whole underworld. He lives in an iron house, and owns black cattle with white heads, and spotted red horses. For many versts before the approach to his house the ground is covered with remains of fired slag iron. The forehead of this deity is covered with dirt nine fingers thick, his cheeks with rust three fingers thick, the face is like a chunk of earth torn from the mountain; his eyes are always closed and when he wishes to see, eight men from above and eight men from below drag the iron lids apart with iron hooks. (1) K'daai Maqsin is a great master. If a valiant hero, a vassal

1. Iron eyelids are a common attribute of Yakut heroic personages. Thus Arsan-Duolan-Old Man is similarly described: One man with the iron hook ran up over his breast, hooked his lower eyelid and dragged it down. Another man with a hook ran over his back and propping himself against the stony back of Old Man's head, cought his upper eyelids with the hooks and dragged them up . (Yastremsky, p. 19). (Tr.)

of the evil spirits, loses his arm or leg, he forges him a new one and fixes it in the prpper place. He can make rifles which do not miss, and a garb which will protect against bullets. He can add strength to a weaker hero. He makes a very hard iron which he tempers in a special liquid made of the blood of a lion, the tears of a species of seal,

blood from the lips of a young man and the blood of the cheeks of a young girl. His bellows are made of thirty cowhides. He has as assistants hammer-men, bellows-men and file-men.

K'daai Maqsin also caused shamans to be introduced into this world. The Yakut tell the following tale: Long, long ago evil spirits lived on earth with the people, but often abused them by stealing their women. The husbands in pursuit penetrated into the lower world and reached the place where they could not continue their way without horses. They [261] asked K'daai Maqsin for help, and he forged horses for them on condition that they send to him upon their return nine jet black mares with white heads as payment for his work.' The men asked him: 'With whom shall we send the horses to you?' 'With the famous shaman!' replied the Blacksmith of the Underworld. From this time on shamans were on the earth.

Moreover, sometimes K'daai Maqsin personally participates in the initiation of the famous shamans of the lower world: he tempers their souls as he tempers iron.

K'daai Maqsin, after teaching the people the blacksmith's art, did not tell them how to weld the iron. The first blacksmith asked a very esteemed old man for advice in this matter, who said to him: 'When the devil comes to you, heat a large piece of iron in the fire, cover it with snow and strike it with a heavy sledge hammer. The great noise will scare the devil and perhaps, being frightened he will disclose to you the secret.' The blacksmith listened to the advice and when the devil came to him he acted accordingly.

15: Popov -- 260 - 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut - 3
116, 326 539, 756, 776

At the loud retort the devil, losing his wits from fright, yelled: 'Use sand.' From this time on blacksmiths have known how to weld iron by the use of sand. (1)

1. Pripusov, N. P., Shamanism of the Yakuts of the Yakutsk region. Izvestia of East Siberian section of R. G. S. Vol. XV, pp. 3-4."

15: Popov -- 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 776

"Among the Buriat also the blacksmith art is of supernatural origin. The people learned the art from the southwestern i. e. good, and northeastern, i. e. evil, spirits. Those who learned from the first are called 'white' and those who learned from the second 'black' blacksmiths. Today among the Yakut there is no division between 'white' and 'black' blacksmiths, and they all obtain their power from K'daai Maqsin. [RCH: see category 116, pp. 260-261] Only shamans are divided into black and white in this tribe. Gorohov (2) in the notes to the tale 'Iurun Iolan' says that the white shamans do not have

2. Izvestia of the Siberian Section of Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XV. Nos. 5-6., p. 56.

shamanistic dress, not even the tambourine. The author also was told that the ancient white shamans wore few iron pendants, and sometimes none. Consequently these shamans did not need to apply to the blacksmiths."

15: Popov -- 261-262 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 782, 822

"Only the man who is chosen by the deity himself can be a real blacksmith among the Yakut. K'daai Maqsin [RCH: see category 116, pp. 260-261] selects only those whose hammer-noises reach his habitation, and he indicates his choice by making the novice sick. Woe to one who fails to understand this; he will die, or at best will remain a cripple for the rest of his days. The blacksmith during his sickness must donate to K'daai Maqsin through the shaman a bull or a cow of 'three grasses' (3) of any color.

3. Three years old.

Formerly the animal had to be of a definite color, 'red' according to Pripusov, 'black' [262] according to Kornilov. (1) The head, the heart with the arteries, and the liver

1. Kornilov, I., The Ceremony of Initiation of the Blacksmith and Kitai Bahsi, the Ancestor of Blacksmiths. Izvestia of E. Siberia, Section of Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXIX, 1908, p. 85.

of the sacrificial animal are placed during the shamanistic ceremony on the anvil and are struck with hammers." [RCH: for text of the complete consecration ritual of a novice blacksmith among the Yakut, see category 539, pp. 262-271]

15: Popov --262 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326. 782, 756, 177.78 Russia
636.78

"A description of the sacrifice to the deity by the blacksmiths is given in the literature by Kornilov. (2) Due to the interesting details I quote it verbatim: 'The ceremony takes

2. Op. cit.

over the three year old black bull. The shaman takes the soul of the bull and hands it to Kitai Bahsi saying, 'I have brought to you a sacrifice for this man; do not harm him but make a blacksmith out of him.' After the shamanistic ceremony the heart of the animal is extracted with iron tongs and is placed on the anvil. The initiated must strike it with the hammer and smash it. If he crushes it with one blow he will be a good blacksmith, if he requires more, he will be medium or bad.' The custom described by Kornilov is very likely older than the one described below, as is indicated by the more cruel method of killing the animal. This method, not especially ritualistic but not general in the old times, was abandoned by order of the Russian authorities."

/256 cont./

A further scientific curiosity is the so-called Schérgin shaft, famous for Middendorff's temperature measurements, by means of which the enormous depth of the ice floor was established scientifically.

For making my magnetic observations, /257/ the governor was kind enough to clear completely the very large reception room of the club, and in particular even had the large metal chandelier taken down. Our young Tungus, Sseliphón, was following me with the instruments and suddenly, with a loud cry, stopped in the middle of the room. On the main wall hung a very well painted lifesize portrait of the emperor; my explanation that it was the emperor dumbfounded him even more; he made countless bows and could finally be convinced only with the greatest difficulty, after he had put his hand behind the picture several times, as children often do with mirrors, that it was merely a picture and not His Majesty in person.

We would have liked to take with us as mementos some of the work of the Jakuten /Yakut/. Like most Turkish tribes -- the Jakut language is so similar to Turkish that Turks cast adrift here are said to make themselves understood very easily -- the Jakuten excel in iron work. We were also shown some ornaments very artistically made out of silver and iron, quite similar to the Caucasian work, but unfortunately they were not for sale. The Jakuten are also very artistic at works carved out of fossil ivory, although they are said to show little power of invention in doing it, but, on the other hand, copy perfectly. We bought a few paper knives which were obviously made from European models -- the handle was formed by a hand holding a cornucopia; we were also shown very pretty little openwork boxes made from Chinese patterns, but most particularly beautiful was a pair of large combs such as are used by the Russian clergy to arrange their hair, which is worn as long as possible. Bishop Dionýssij asked me to take these as a gift to his friend, the rector of the divinity school in Irkutsk. They showed three bishop's /258/ miters on an openwork background with the most elegant arabesques.

skillfully made; the wooden crockery was usually decorated with carving, while the birchbark objects were decorated with horsehair designs. 322

Fur-dressing and tanning were very common. The materials were made into a great variety of different things—clothing, footwear, and headgear; carpets, underlays (usually made of horse- or cow-hide, often sewn together from pieces into a checkered mosaic), blankets (from horseskin); the leather vessels were made in a variety of sizes, ranging from the enormous simiir' for kumys down to the tiny pail or tursuk; various parts of saddles, straps, nooses and so on. The actual working of the leather and fur was very primitive—the hide was smoked (in ancient times and even in the 17th century this was done in earth stoves), crumpled, smeared with oil or cream, and there was no true tanning. The manufacture of reindeer suede was evidently learnt from the Evenks and the Evens. The Yakuts themselves did not make any cloth, either from animal wool or vegetable fiber—and only used what was imported. They did not know about spinning, nor how to roll felt. On the other hand, horsehair was widely employed; it was used for the ornamentation of birchbark and other objects, particularly for braiding different kinds of lassoes, cord, laces and nets, loops, fans to keep flies away, stuffing pillows for saddles and so on. The Yakuts also wove horsehair for decorative purposes. The individual hairs were twisted into a thread by hand on a bare knee, without using a spindle. 281 286 283 439 531

Blacksmithery was the only trade among the Yakuts which had long acquired commercial importance, although normally it was not a separate trade from agriculture. In the 17th century the Russians found it to be highly developed among the Yakuts. The iron was obtained from marsh ore, of which there was a great deal, particularly on the Vilyuy. The ore was mined along the rivers Botoma, Amga, Sola and others. It was first smelted in primitive blast furnaces. But at the beginning of the 20th century the Yakut smiths were already working with imported iron. They forged it into a variety of implements and utensils, weapons and so on. Apart from iron, the Yakut smiths worked low-grade silver, which in the 19th and 20th centuries was partly obtainable by melting down Russian coins. This silver was made into various ornaments, linings for belts, whips, horse harnessing. The equipment used in the smithies was fairly unsophisticated—furnaces worked with bellows (portable), anvils, hammer and tongs. 326 [316]

The fact that they engaged in ceramics singles out the Yakuts from the people around them. They evidently retained pottery as a relic of the Neolithic stage. Nevertheless, it was very primitive. To the dark, viscous clay they used to add powder ground from old fired pots and then mold the clay mixture diluted with water into the walls of the pot with their hands (without a wheel), using a stone to smooth them out (on the inside) and a trowel (on the outside). The pots were fired in the hearth. The pottery varied in size and the shapes and designs were crude. In the last few decades, Yakut ceramics have been replaced by Russian ones. 323

Mammoth-ivory carving (Yakutiya is rich in mammoth skeletons), which was probably not begun before the 19th century, was not a common trade, although it was an interesting one. The ivory was carved into a variety of trinkets and small boxes. 321

These were the main types of production among the Yakuts prior to the Revolution. As a whole, the Yakut economy remained at a fairly low level of development, and by and large remained a subsistence economy. Nevertheless, the sale of homemade products acquired ever-greater importance towards the end of the 19th century. This was mainly the case 433 443

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

was associated with the severe frost; this was a particular type of fur collar or mooyturuk made from rings of squirrel tails, so that the fur stood out on all sides; this collar was put round the neck in cold weather and covered both the nose and mouth; as the wearer breathed on it and the breath gradually froze, he kept moving it round so that there was always a dry spot opposite the mouth.

The Yakut heavy fur mittens were made with space for one finger and were attached by laces, by which they hung when taken off.

Typical of the footwear (eterbes) were high kneeboots made of undressed reindeer- or horse-hide, with the hair on the outside. The summer boots (sasry) were made of soft leather with a soft sole; the top part was covered with cloth and in the case of women with embroidery; the tops of the boots were tied with laces. Underneath the top footwear they wore high stockings (keenche) made of fur, or, later, cloth made in the shape of the foot. Linings of dry grass were also put inside the boots, and frequently changed.

The decorations on the women's clothing were particularly lavish and varied. Apart from various types of embroidery, appliqué and trimming, women also wore metal (silver) adornments, including large pendants consisting of rows of interlinked parallel, patterned chains hanging from a semicircle (kyl'd'yy), silver earrings of the pendant type (*имарда*), various patterned bracelets (*бөгөх*), finger-rings (*быһыах*), silver crucifixes (Christian influence) on massive openwork chains and so forth; all these embellishments, chiefly possessed by the toyon women, were very skillfully made by the Yakut smiths.

As regards children's clothing, there was no special type. In the poorer families, the children ran about naked or wore rags; the children of wealthier parents wore the same kind of garments as the adults, except for the size and greater number of adornments.

Food

The diet of the Yakuts from the central ulusy before the Revolution consisted first of dairy products, second, fish products, after which came vegetable products, and, finally, meat. The variety, amount and quality of the food ranged between very wide limits in the various class groups. Dairy products were consumed mainly during the summer, and as far as possible stored up for the winter. Mare's milk was chiefly used to make kumys, a refreshing, nutritious and slightly intoxicating beverage, which the Yakuts drank readily and in large quantities. During the haymaking kumys was sometimes the staple diet; a great deal of it was drunk at summer festivals (*ысыах*—the kumys festival). Over the last few decades before the Revolution, on account of the decline in horse-breeding and the development of agriculture, the comsumption of kumys dropped more and more. Mare's milk was not stocked for the winter. Cow's milk was not used very much in the fresh form, but was used to make a greater variety of products. First place among them was taken by the so-called suorat, or sora, a particular kind of thick sour milk with or without some cream added. In summer fresh suorat was the commonest food, but it was also used to make winter stocks; for this purpose it was kept in large birchbark vats, to which were added berries (blueberries), roots, bones (which dissolved in the lactic acid) and any left-over milk product, and as winter approached, the whole lot was frozen and kept in that form. The resulting tar was used in wintertime to make the drink butugas, to which was added, apart from the tar, water, a little flour, pine sapwood, roots, and so on. Cream skimmed from the milk was used in the fresh, whipped form; it was called *күөрэх*, highly

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

326 756 The same kind of superstitious awe with which the shamans were regarded was also applied to the smiths, particularly hereditary smiths who were believed to have mysterious powers. The smith was considered to some extent related to the shaman. "The smith and the shaman are out of one nest." Smiths could treat illnesses, give advice and even make prophecies. The smith forged iron pendants for the shaman's costume, and this fact alone made him awesome. The smith had special power over the spirits for, according to Yakut superstition, spirits were afraid of the sound of iron and the noise of the smith's bellows.

776 782 Apart from shamanism, the Yakuts had another cult, connected with their livelihood. The chief deity in this cult was Bay-Bayanay, the spirit of the forest and patron of hunting and fishing. According to some beliefs, Bayanay had 11 brothers. They brought luck in hunting and fishing, so that the hunter exorted them to help him before he went out hunting, and after a successful hunt made them offerings of some of the catch by throwing pieces of fat into the fire or smearing the images of Bayanay with blood.

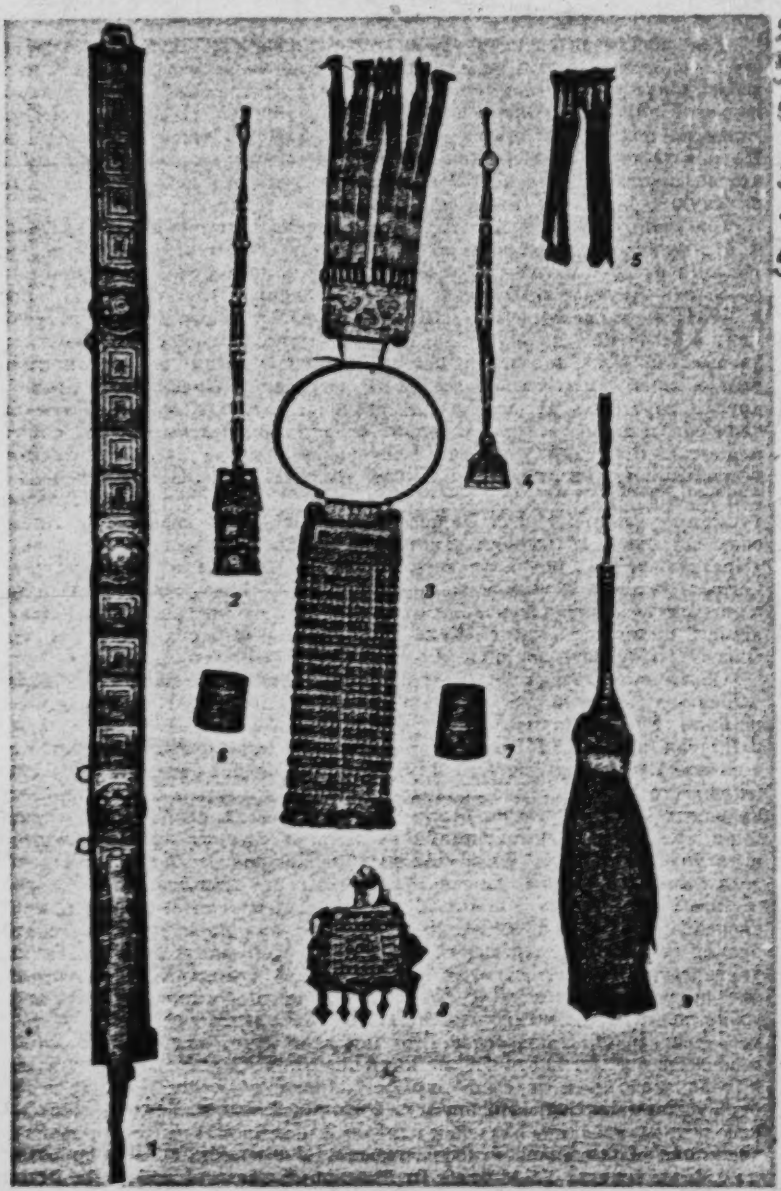
776 The belief in ichchi or "masters" of different objects was evidently connected with hunting and fishing. The Yakuts believed that all animals, trees, and different phenomena of nature possessed ichchi, just as certain domestic articles, such as knives and axes. The ichchi themselves were neither good nor evil. In order to placate the "masters" of the mountains, cliffs, rivers, forests and so on, at various places—river crossings, mountain passes and so on—the Yakuts left small offerings of pieces of meat, butter and other food, and also scraps of cloth. The worship of 776 825 certain animals came close to this cult as well. The bear was an object of great reverence and as a result people avoided calling it by name, were afraid of killing it, and considered it to be a transformed sorcerer. The eagle was also worshipped and called toyon kyyl ("mister beast"), and so were the raven, hawk and certain other birds and animals.

776 All these beliefs go back to the ancient means of livelihood of the Yakuts, and pastoralism also gave rise to its own set of beliefs and rituals. These comprised the cult of the deities of fertility, which was not preserved for very long and is therefore less known. Among these beliefs was clearly the belief in ayyy, benevolent deities who bestowed various benefits. It was thought the ayyy lived in the east.

First place among the benevolent spirits was taken by Urun-Ayyy-Toyon ("white lord and creator"), who lived in the eighth heaven, was kind and did not interfere in human affairs, hence there was apparently no cult of him. The image of this spirit was very much mixed up with features of the Christian God. According to a certain belief, still higher than Ayyy-Toyon was Aar-Toyon, who inhabited the ninth heaven. Below them followed a large number of other benevolent deities, who were supposed to bestow various blessings. The most important figure among them [844] was the female deity *Aüuuhum* (Ayyysyt), who bestowed fertility, patronized women in labor and gave mothers their children. Sacrifices were made to Ayyysyt during childbirth, and since it was considered that after the birth this goddess remained three days in the house, a special female ritual (to which men were not allowed to come) was performed at the end of three days in order to celebrate her departure.

796 The chief ceremony in honor of the benevolent deities, the patrons of fertility, was the kumys festival, *ubuax*, in the old days. This festival was organized in the spring or halfway through the summer, when there was plenty of milk; it was held in the open air, in the meadows, and many people gathered together for it. The peak moment of the festival

[p. 286]



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Silver ornaments: 1—silver belt; 2—embellishments for braids; 3—necklace; 4—women's tinder steel; 5—pendant for braids; 6, 7—bracelets; 8—women's bags; 9—fan.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm and stamping on the ground. 534 535 171

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were considered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly found. The representations were usually very symbolic. 531 294 321 326 331 322

The Post-Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish National Okrug. 631 443

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The 474 233 234